Navies in Multipolar Worlds

The Inaugural Yale Naval History Conference

April 20–21, 2018
PROGRAM

FRIDAY, APRIL 20
Linsly-Chittenden Hall, Room 317

08:45–09:20 Breakfast

09:20–09:30 Welcome
Evan Wilson (Yale University)
Paul Kennedy (Yale University)

09:30–11:00 French Naval Ambitions, 1650–1914
Chair: Evan Wilson (Yale University)
Alan James (King’s College London), “La Royale: Defending French ‘Empire’ Within a Multi-Polar Europe”
Brian Chao (University of Pennsylvania), “‘A Brilliant Second’: French Hybridization as a Great Power”
Louis Halewood (University of Oxford), “Naval Ambitions in France on the Eve of the Great War”

11:00–11:30 Coffee

11:30–12:45 Keynote Session: Navies Through Others’ Eyes
N.A.M. Rodger (University of Oxford)

12:45–01:45 Lunch

01:45–03:15 Britain’s Global Challenges in the Napoleonic Wars
Chair: Benjamin Armstrong (U.S. Naval Academy)
Kevin D. McCranie (U.S. Naval War College), “Distributing the Fleet: Managing Britain’s Global Challenges after Trafalgar”
Roger Knight (University of London), “Taking the War to America: The British Convoy Problem, 1812–14”
Evan Wilson (Yale University), “The British Response to Peace in 1815”

03:15–03:45 Coffee

03:45–05:15 Threat Perceptions on the Eve of the First World War
Chair: Paul Kennedy (Yale University)
John Beeler (University of Alabama), “The Smug, Contented Attitude of the Admiralty: Naval Attachés, the Naval Intelligence Department, and Threat Assessment in the 1880s”
Matthew Seligmann (Brunel University), “The Return of Polarity: British Naval Policy and Strategic Choices from German Naval Threat to Triple Alliance Threat 1900–1914”
Anne Louise Antonoff (Marine Corps University), “Naval Calculations in the Shadows: Diplomacy and Shifting Alliance Possibilities, 1906–1910”

06:30 Drinks reception and dinner (by invitation or registration) at the Quinnipiack Club, 221 Church Street
With remarks from John B. Hattendorf (U.S. Naval War College)

SATURDAY, APRIL 21
GM Room, Horchow Hall, 55 Hillhouse Ave

08:30–09:00 Breakfast

09:00–10:30 Multipolarity in the Interwar Period
Chair: Ian Johnson (Yale University)
S.C.M. Paine (U.S. Naval War College), “Japan’s Transition from a Maritime to a Continental Security Paradigm, 1928–1941”
G.H. Bennett (Plymouth University), “Managed Decline and the Use of Diplomacy to Ring-Fence Naval Power in an Age of Multipolarity: The Case of the Royal Navy in the Interwar Period”
Fabio De Ninno (University of Siena), “Italian Naval Strategy in the Age of Fascism, 1919–40”

10:30–10:45 Coffee
PROGRAM

10:45–12:30 Keynote Session: The Second World War at Sea
   Moderator: Roger Knight (University of London)
   Craig Symonds (U.S. Naval War College)
   Paul Kennedy (Yale University)

12:30–01:30 Lunch

01:30–03:00 Mahan Is Not Enough: The Evolution of Naval Strategy
   Chair: Anne Louise Antonoff (Marine Corps University)
   John H. Maurer (U.S. Naval War College), “David Lloyd George and the Contest for Naval Mastery”
   Peter D. Haynes (CSBA), “The Evolution of American Naval Thinking on Sea Control from 1901 to the Present”

03:00–03:30 Closing Discussion
   Paul Kennedy (Yale University)
   Craig Symonds (U.S. Naval War College)
   N.A.M. Rodger (University of Oxford)
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES AT YALE

International Security Studies at Yale (ISS) was established in 1988 to connect faculty studying international security in history and political science. Under Professor Paul Kennedy’s leadership, ISS’s activities broadened to cover topics in grand strategy, military history, and security studies. In the early 1990s, ISS served as the host institution for the Academic Center for U.N. Studies, leading to the publication of Professor Bruce Russett and Professor Kennedy’s landmark Ford Foundation report, “The United Nations in its Second Half-Century” in 1995. In 2000, ISS launched the Grand Strategy Program, which is now fully autonomous and one of Yale’s flagship courses. More recently, ISS has helped to bring the ROTC program back to Yale and now hosts one of the Commandant’s Marine Corps Fellows.

Since its inception, ISS’s primary focus has always been on training and mentoring the next generation of scholars in international security. To that end, ISS has hosted dozens of the most promising young scholars from other universities, who came to Yale as pre- and post-doctoral fellows made possible by grants from the Bradley, MacArthur, Olin and Smith Richardson foundations. Additionally, ISS has provided funding for archival research and language training to more than 200 Yale graduate students. Through these efforts, ISS has left an indelible mark in the current generation of scholarly leaders in the fields of diplomatic and military history, many of whom now hold prestigious chairs at universities around the world.

Under the new leadership of Professor Nuno Monteiro, ISS remains in a strong position to spearhead a new wave of scholarship. Our core goal is to serve as an incubator for projects that blend theoretical rigor with historical depth on matters of international security and grand strategy. While history and political science departments across the United States have, in the last twenty years, increasingly directed their resources and teaching away from big-picture strategic questions, ISS will continue to keep these fields integral to undergraduate, graduate, and professional training.

“The Maritime and Naval Studies Initiative at ISS at Yale

The Maritime and Naval Studies Initiative at ISS began in the summer of 2016. It seeks to promote the study of the sea at Yale and in the wider academic world. The sea is reasserting its significance in international affairs. Maritime trade underpins the world economy; rising sea levels threaten coastal communities; and American naval hegemony is no longer assured. We need our leading academic institutions to inform us about our naval history, about maritime affairs today, and about the purpose and future of sea power.

We use the word “studies” to encompass, loosely, all things maritime: the history of the sea and America’s place on it; maritime commerce; the shipping industry and its financial structures; national navies and the United States Navy in particular; “all things that goes upon the sea, and are upon the sea,” as Mahan broadly put it in his seminal work, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*. Our remit will be a wide one, even if we intend this project to be focused and, in its early stages, a relatively small one. We want to include: the global maritime economy, international maritime law and its applications, naval and military history, the grand strategy of seapower. “Studies” permits us to bring together here various of Yale’s distinguished places: International Security Studies, the Macmillan Center, The Law School, the School of Management.

Connecting Yale scholars interested in maritime and naval studies is the first component of the initiative. The second is supporting a predoctoral fellow working in naval or maritime history. The inaugural fellow was Nicholas Prime of King’s College London, and this year’s fellow is Timothy Choi of the University of Calgary. The third component is providing support for Yale graduate students researching naval and maritime topics by funding, on a limited and competitive basis, summer archival research trips.

The initiative relies on the support of a significant three-year grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation (SRF). We have used these funds to bring speakers conducting cutting-edge research in maritime affairs to Yale. The grant is also the primary funding source for this conference. We would also like to thank Ky and Margaret Thompson, Reuben Jeffery III, and Bruce McLanahan for their generous support.

“ISS was the incubator that hatched a whole generation of international historians who led a revival in the study of war and diplomacy. And for all its success, it has never rested on its laurels, and remains extraordinarily open to new approaches.”

Matthew Connelly, Professor of History, Columbia University
MARITIME AND NAVAL STUDIES EVENTS AT ISS

2016

September 20
Werner Rahn (MGFA) and Paul Kennedy (Yale), “German Naval Strategy in the Two World Wars: A Conversation”

September 27

November 1

November 16–17

2017

February 20
Panel Discussion: “The Outlaw Ocean: Lawlessness at Sea in Historical Context,” with Ian Urbina (The New York Times), Benjamin Armstrong, (U.S. Naval Academy), Shannon Kopplin (U.S. Naval Justice School), and Guy Chet (University of North Texas)

February 21
Benjamin Armstrong (U.S. Naval Academy), “‘Things Done By Halves’: Observations from the United States’ First Maritime Hybrid War”

March 3
One-day Conference: “Troubled Waters: The South China Sea Question” Chris Miller (Yale), Wen-Qing Ngoei (Yale), S.C.M. Paine, (U.S. Naval War College), Alessio Patalano, (King’s College London), Gregory Poling (CSIS), Peter Dutton (U.S. Naval War College), Alice Ba (University of Delaware), Evan Wilson (Yale), Peter Haynes (CSBA), Bernard Cole (National War College), Lyle Goldstein (U.S. Naval War College), and Nuno Monteiro (Yale).

MARITIME AND NAVAL STUDIES EVENTS AT ISS

2018

March 7

April 11
Glen O’Hara (Oxford Brookes), “‘The Sea is Swinging Into View’: Modern British History in a Globalized World”

April 18
Marta Kalabinski (Yale), “A Port City Behind the Iron Curtain: Contesting Space in Communist Gdansk”

September 19
James Goldrick (Royal Australian Navy, ret.), “Dealing with Deadlock: The Naval War in Northern European Waters after Jutland”

September 26

October 3

October 31
Tim Choi (Yale), “Sea Control by Other Means: Adapting Naval Strategy for an Era of Broadened Security”

February 20
Mallory Hope (Yale), “The Marine Insurance Market in Eighteenth-Century Marseille”

April 17
Evan Wilson (Yale), “How the British Fiscal-Military State Transitioned from War to Peace”
LIST OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Anne Louise Antonoff is Assistant Professor of Military History at the U.S. Marine Corps University. She has previously taught at the University of Pennsylvania and managed a forecasting and net assessment study for the Department of Homeland Security. She is writing a monograph, entitled *The Balkan Pivot*, on the origins of World War I.


John Beeler is Professor of Modern British and Naval History at the University of Alabama and a former postdoctoral fellow at ISS. He has published a number of books and articles on nineteenth-century Britain; his first book, *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era, 1860–1880* (1997) won the American Historical Association’s 1998 Paul W. Birdsell Award. For the past two decades, he has been engaged in editing the papers of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Alexander Milne for the Navy Records Society.

G.H. Bennett is Associate Professor (Reader) in History at the University of Plymouth and the author of more than a dozen books on the two world wars. He recently edited a collection of Admiralty dispatches during the Second World War. His most recent monograph is *The Royal Navy in the Age of Austerity: British Naval Policy Under Lloyd George, 1919–22* (Bloomsbury, 2016).

Brian C. Chao is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, under the supervision of Avery Goldstein, Michael C. Horowitz, and Alex Weisiger. His dissertation is entitled, “A Double Vocation: The State and Military Power on Land and Sea.” Brian’s research interests cover U.S. defense/foreign policy, international relations of East Asia, and naval power and geostrategy. He received his A.B. from Dartmouth in 2009 and his A.M. from Penn in 2016.
LIST OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Tim Choi is the Smith Richardson Foundation Predoctoral Fellow at ISS designated for maritime and naval studies. He is a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Calgary, where his dissertation is entitled, “Scandinavia at Sea: The Seapower of Small Navies in an Era of Broadened Security.” His work has appeared in the Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, the Canadian Naval Review, and other journals.

Louis Halewood is a D.Phil Candidate in History at the University of Oxford under the supervision of N.A.M. Rodger. His dissertation is entitled, “Conceptions of a New World Order: Debates over Collective Security and Maritime Power, 1890–1922.” He has published in Intelligence and National Security, and is the editor of a forthcoming book with Routledge on the First World War.

John B. Hattendorf is the Ernest J. King Professor Emeritus of Maritime History at the U.S. Naval War College. He is the author or editor of more than forty books, including The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History (Oxford, 2007). Among his current projects is a revised and expanded edition of Sailors and Scholars: The History of the U.S. Naval War College.

Peter D. Haynes is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. He retired from the U.S. Navy as a captain in 2016, and he holds a Ph.D. from the Naval Postgraduate School. He is the author of Toward a New Maritime Strategy: American Naval Thinking in the Post-Cold War Era (Naval Institute Press, 2015).

Alan James is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of War Studies at King’s College London, where he supervises the M.A. in the History of Warfare. He has published two books on early modern French history. He is currently working on a collaborative study of European navies and warfare, and on a critical survey of French sea power from the 1540s to 1815.

Ian Johnson is the Associate Director of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy and a Lecturer in the History Department at Yale. He has recently published The White Nights: Pages from a Russian Doctor’s Notebook (Bowen Press Books, 2018). His first monograph, The Faustian Bargain: Secret Soviet-German Military Cooperation in the Interwar Period, is forthcoming with Oxford University Press.

Paul Kennedy is J. Richardson Dilworth Professor of History and the former Director of International Security Studies at Yale. He now directs the Maritime and Naval Studies Initiative. His latest book, Engineers of Victory: The Problem Solvers who Turned the Tide in the Second World War, was published in 2013 by Random House. He is now working on a study of sea power in the same war, and recently completed a new foreword to his classic 1976 book, The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery.

Roger Knight is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. For many years he held curatorial and research roles at the National Maritime Museum. Britain Against Napoleon: The Organization of Victory, 1793–1815 (Allen Lane) was named the Spectator’s Book of the Year in 2013. His most recent book is William IV: A King at Sea (2015), part of the Penguin Monarchs series.

John H. Maurer is the Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. He was chair of the Strategy and Policy Department at the College for eight years, and is currently a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He has published books on the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, naval arms control, and Winston Churchill.

Kevin D. McCranie is the Philip A. Crowl Professor of Comparative Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. He is the author of Admiral Lord Keith and the War Against Napoleon and Utmost Gallantry: The U.S. and Royal Navies at Sea in the War of 1812. His articles have appeared in Naval History, The Journal of Military History, The Naval War College Review, and The Northern Mariner.

Daniel Moran is Professor in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School. He is the author or editor of many books about the history of war and international politics in Europe and Asia since the nineteenth century. His most recent book is Maritime Strategy and Global Order (with James A. Russell, Georgetown University Press, 2016).

Fabio De Ninno is a research fellow and adjunct professor at the University of Siena. He has published a number of articles and chapters on Italian naval history, as well as two books: I sommerrigili del fascismo. Politica navale, strategia e uomini fra le due guerre mondiali (Milan, 2014) and Fascisti sul mare, La marina e gli ammiragli di Mussolini (Bari, 2017).
LIST OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

S.C.M. Paine is William S. Sims University Professor of History and Grand Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. She has published extensively on the political, maritime, and military history of China, Russia, and Japan. Her most recent book is *The Japanese Empire: Grand Strategy from the Meiji Restoration to the Pacific War* (Cambridge, 2017).

N.A.M. Rodger is Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He is a naval historian of Britain and other countries from the sixth century to the present day. He is engaged in writing a three-volume naval history of Britain, the first two volumes of which have been published: *Safeguard of the Sea* (HarperCollins, 1997) and *Command of the Ocean* (Allen Lane, 2004). The latter was an *Economist* Best Book and the *Atlantic Monthly* Book of the Year.

Matthew Seligmann is Professor of Naval History at Brunel University London. He has published a number of books and articles on the Anglo-German naval race and the origins of the First World War. His latest book is *Rum, Sodomy, Prayers, and the Lash Revisited: Winston Churchill and Social Reform in the Royal Navy, 1900–1915* (Oxford, 2018).

Craig Symonds is the Ernest J. King Professor of Maritime History at the U.S. Naval War College. He is also Professor Emeritus at the U.S. Naval Academy. His 2010 book *Lincoln and His Admirals* won the Lincoln Prize, and he has published extensively on the American Civil War. More recently, he has turned his attention to the twentieth century, and his latest book is *World War II at Sea: A Global History* (Oxford, 2018).

Evan Wilson is the Associate Director of International Security Studies and a Lecturer in the History Department at Yale. His first monograph, *A Social History of British Naval Officers, 1775–1815*, was published by Boydell in 2017. He also co-edited the Festschrift for John Hattendorf, *Strategy and the Sea* (Boydell, 2016) and is the most recent recipient of the Sir Julian Corbett Prize in Modern Naval History.

To learn more about the Maritime and Naval Studies Initiative, other upcoming events at ISS, and how to get involved, please visit:

iss.yale.edu

Or contact ISS's Associate Director, Evan Wilson, at evan.wilson@yale.edu.

Thank you to ISS’s wonderful staff for their help organizing the conference: Liz Vastakis, Igor Biryukov, and especially Kathleen Galo. Thank you to ISS’s Director, Nuno Monteiro, for his continuing support of the initiative.

Thank you also to Tim Choi, who volunteered to help organize the conference and is responsible for the photos of ISS’s magnificent naval and maritime library. The library was graciously donated by Ky Thompson in 2017.

The image on the cover is Henry Reuterdahl, “The Fleet Passing Through Magellan Straits” (1908). The sailor on p. 4 can be found on Harkness Gate in Branford College.